

Interrogating the Autonomy of the Nigerian State in Managing Farmer-Herder Conflict: Perspectives on Cases in Katsina State

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Abstract

This paper employs classical Marxist theory of the State to interrogate the autonomy of the Nigerian State in the management of farmer-herder conflicts in the country with particular reference to the cases in Katsina state between 2016 and 2021. The paper adopts survey research method of an ex post facto type to elicit data from respondents using structured questionnaire, unstructured oral interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) as research instruments which were complemented by a review of extant body of literature. The major findings of the study revealed that in such a society where there are both the poor and the rich such as in the case of crop farmers and cattle herders in Nigeria, the State is expected to function, among other things, to maintain cohesion among the groups by ensuring the safety, security and well fare of all, and at the same time maintain its domination to manage the mode of production to reinforce class consciousness and struggles. However, in Nigeria, the post-colonial State enjoys not merely the relative autonomy that the State under developed capitalism has, but rather, has a distinct relative autonomy by virtue of its direct and obvious role in the economy, security and production, and that the State is able to dispense with the usual mediatory role of policies expected to provide for peace, security of lives and property. The State in the under-developed social formation is invariably characterized by weak and dependent economy as well as other features unique to its insecurity and under-developed institutions.

Keywords: Nigeria, Autonomy, Conflict Management, Farmers-herders, Katsina State

Introduction

Historical relations between herders and sedentary crop farming communities in Nigeria have been harmonious as they lived in a peaceful, symbiotic relationship such that herders' cattle would fertilize the farmers' land in exchange for grazing rights. However, tension grew over the past decade with increasingly violent flare-ups spreading throughout central and southern states; the incidents of farmer-herder clashes or disagreements have occurred in, at least, 22 of the country's 36 states (Crisis Group Interview, 2017). Accordingly, in 2016, for instance, over 2000 people were killed and tens of thousands displaced in Benue and Kaduna states alone (Nigeria, 2017). Thus, incidents involving herders accounted for 44 percent of all fatalities in the country since 2016 and these conflicts are complex and multidimensional by every measure; and they have continued to date.

Incidentally, the Crisis Group Africa (2017) analyzes the factors that help cause or aggravate conflicts, their evolution and spread. It further assesses responses, especially by the

Federal Government and its security agencies thereby outlining possible strategies to reduce or prevent violence. In terms of factors that help to cause or aggregate conflict between pastoralists and crop producers, a historical approach has been adopted. Crisis Group Africa (2017) indicates that for centuries, pastoralists drove their cattle east and west across the Sahel, the semi-arid zone south of the Sahara Desert that includes Nigeria's far northern belt. Crisis Group Africa further states that

In the early 20th century, some herders started shifting their migration routes farther south, pushed by a series of drought in the far north, but also attracted by heightened security in central and southern Nigeria and by better control of parasitic diseases... such as trypanomiasis or sleeping sickness... in the central and southern zones... Herders also wanted to evade the much-hated cattle tax... jangali... imposed in the northern region... As cattle herds migrated southward, so did conflicts between pastoralists and farmers (2017, p.3).

The relationship between crop farmers and cattle herders soon turned into conflict as cattle herds migrated southward. Among the principal causes and aggravating factors behind the escalating conflict between crop producers and pastoralists in Nigeria over the years are said to be climatic changes, arising from frequent drought and desertification; population growth, resulting to loss of northern grazing lands to the expansion of human settlements; technological and economic changes, resulting from new livestock and farming practices; crimes of rural banditry and cattle rustling; political and ethnic strife, intensified by the spread of illicit fire arms. There are also cultural changes which explain the collapse of traditional conflict management mechanism and a dysfunctional legal regime that allows crime in the country to go unpunished and thereby encouraging both crop producers and pastoralists to take matters into their hands. In the area of drought and desertification as causes of farmer-herder crisis in Nigeria, the Crisis Group Africa explains that Nigeria's far north is arid and semi-arid with a long dry season from October to May and low rainfall (600-900mm) from June to September.

Theoretical Framework of Analysis: Classical Marxist' Theory of the State

Classical Marxist' theory of the State had its intellectual pedigree in the works of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels. The theory states that the State is an institution with established apparatuses purposely and directly motivated to defend and maintain a class domination and class exploitation. Thus, the control of State apparatuses by the ruling class is for, and in the entire interest of the whole bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels (1975, p. 37) confirmed this that "the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie".

The economic and political apparatuses of the State, according to Miliband and Saville (1965), are considered by the classical Marxists as being the organized power of one class for the oppression of another. Thus, Lenin (1945, p. 29) further viewed the State as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Engels contends that in a capitalist State where the means of production, control and access to resources and other things exist in the private ownership, whereby both the working class and the peasants are in total or complete subjugation by the propertied class, the ideas and reforms of the State, including policies and programmes, are only presented in disguise and invariably do not alter an iota of the essential character of the State in being oriented,

controlled and directed by the ruling class to dominate the other classes. In this case, therefore, the classical or primary view of the State by the Marxists sees the State as essentially existing for a particular class and functions in the complete perfection of its basic interests over the majority poor masses.

Apart from this primary or basic view of the State, there is another secondary Marxist perception of the State in its classical postulation. This secondary postulation of classical Marxist theory sees the State as being 'independent' from, and superior to all social classes, and as the dominant force in society rather than instrument of the dominant class (Miliband and Saville, 1965). This second Classical Marxist perception of the State stems from Marx's analysis of the Bonaparte's State. Here, Marx (1975) tries to explain the relative autonomy" nature of the State.

Marx shows that the ruling classes found themselves confronted with each other, each wishing to restore its royalty against the other. This merely signified that each of the two great interests into which the bourgeoisie is split sought to restore its own supremacy and the subordination of the other; as a result of this, the Bonaparte's State is established. The State under Bonaparte seemed to be completely independent of all the fractions of the bourgeoisie and therefore, the "independent" character of the State in the political sphere was only to balance the contending vested interests and class struggles peculiar to the State. Hence, the State cannot, in a class divided society, remain neutral but protect a socially and politically dominant and controlling class. The "relative autonomy" of the State has therefore, pre-occupied Marxist thoughts in both the developed and the under-developed capitalist states or social formations.

The foregoing arguments arise from the way the State relates to the political and economic forces and policies regarding the conflict between crop producers and cattle herders in the polity. Thus, a question usually comes to mind as to how impartial or autonomous is the State in formulating and implementing policies that will cater for the peace and security or interest of the generality of crop producers and cattle herders, including the poor masses of the society under its control. The debate on the relative autonomy of the State dates back to Hegel who presents the State as a complete embodiment of the general interests of the whole society. He also suggests that the State stands over and above particular vested interests and consequently appears independent, neutral and autonomous (Hegel, 1982, p 81).

It could be deduced from the above theoretical postulations that the State in Nigeria is not primarily concerned with ending the farmer-herder conflict in the country in the interest of the generality of people under its control, but to serve the interests of the dominant elites or groups of cattle herders. In Nigeria, for instance, the analysis from the Classical Marxist theorists could mean that there is general inability of the State (Nigeria) to manage the conflict between crop producers and cattle herders and this translates into the frequency of violent attacks by both herders or pastoralists and crop producers on each other with inadequate or near absence of the basic necessities of modern crop farming and pastoralism practices which culminates to the farmer-herder conflict that bedevil the good image of the State (Nigeria) as a whole.

Research Methods

The research design adopted for this study is the expost-facto design which is justified by its ability to capture the respondents affected by the conflict in the area under study. The research took measurement once from the respondents in Katsina state as a representative sample of the population of the State. Thus, questionnaires, face-to-face interviews of some Key Informants,

Focus Group Discussions and collection of official documents formed part of the design to collect data for this study.

For the Key Informants Interviews, this study contacted twenty-five (25) key informants considered to be designated officials at the state, local government and community levels in Katsina to augment the responses from the questionnaire. Consequently, so many respondent interviewees including Sarkis, Maiangwa, Yandakans and District heads, Ward heads, Government representatives, community leaders, leaders of crop producers' organization, cattle herders' organizations in Katsina state, police officials, vigilante groups and others were purposively sampled from each Senatorial District of Katsina state for this study. The reason is that they were in the picture of the reality on ground regarding the nature of conflict between crop farmers and cattle herders in the State and were capable of forming their opinions. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were held with cattle herders' Association in Katsina state and crop farmers' Association in the state.

Data generated through the focus group discussions were transcribed and literally analyzed or interpreted to complement the data sourced from oral interviews and the questionnaire sources. Thus, text books, academic journals, conference proceedings, seminars/workshop papers, newspapers, magazines, official publications of local governments in Katsina state, the Katsina state government and those of the Federal or local governments in Nigeria were used to obtain the relevant data for this research.

The research made use of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 21) and Excel applications to employ both quantitative and qualitative descriptive analysis methods to summarize the result of the study. On the other hand, the use of qualitative descriptive analysis method involved literally interpretation of the information generated as the mode of presentation is thematic in nature and relevant issues are systematically considered under selected themes and sub-themes designed to address declared objectives of the study such that inferences or generalizations are made in order to address the research questions earlier raised for logical conclusion and recommendations in this paper.

Interrogating the Autonomy of the Nigerian State in the Management of Farmer-Herder Conflict between 2016 and 2021 with Particular Reference to Cases in Katsina State

In this section, efforts are made to analyze results and discussions on the autonomy of the Nigerian State in the management of farmer-herder conflict between 2016 and 2021. Thus, the tables that follow are drawn in line with the research questions and hence the declared objectives of the paper: As observed by Genyi (2019), while sustained attacks on crop producers by pastoralists and vice-versa appears horrifying and indefensible, it is clear that the failure of the State (Nigeria) to act decisively against perpetrators of any previous attacks gave the impetus for more killings:

The partisan attitude of the Nigerian State and its security agencies in the management of intergroup relations has also played out graphically in the Kaduna killings. The mayhem in October 2016 lasted for four days before any meaningful response from the state through its security agencies or political leaders was heard including from the Kaduna state government in which the killing took place (2019, p.239).

Incidentally, the State in Nigeria, through governmental institutions and security forces, appears to be unresponsive or reluctant in responding to warning signs and reports of attacks by herdsmen on crop producing communities in the country.

In extreme cases, security agencies' responses to attacks are systematically delayed and often arrive long after attacks have ceased...when security agencies arrive long after attack, the perpetrators never got arrested or prosecuted...the February 2016 attacks that left 500 dead in Agatu in Benue state occurred for four consecutive days without response from security agencies. No meaningful police presence was seen in the area until well after the targeted villages in the area were razed down (2019, p.239).

The implication of the foregoing argument to our study on conflict and its management between crop producers and pastoralists in Nigeria is that the Nigerian State's incapacity to promptly respond to the conflicts in the country is part of the reasons for incessant clashes between crop producers and pastoralists. Genyi (2019) opines further that State's security agencies have often displayed double standards in response to attacks from either herders or farmers or rustlers and there are varying shades of relationships between different security agencies and the herders or farming communities across the country:

Generally, the police is seen to have better relations with farmers and would turn a blind eye when farmers rise up against herders. The military are rather seen to favour armed Fulani herdsmen. These tendencies foster a widespread culture of impunity, a trend that exacerbate feelings of persecution and provoking social divisions as well as reinforcing mistrust of security agencies and government itself (2019, p.240).

The conclusion reached by Genyi (2019) is that the way and manner in which the Nigerian State handles the killings and conflicts between crop producers and pastoralists in the country points to an entrenchment of a culture of impunity and a drive to anarchy in Nigeria. This, however, is subject to further research. Thus, as argued by Akerjiir (2018), while the bulk of literature and scholarly discussions on conflict between pastoralists and crop producers maintain that increasing conflict in the country is connected to the activities of the herdsmen in the quest for grazing pasture for their livestock, deliberately or unaware, causing damages to the farmers' crops as well as cattle theft and rustling by communities, it is clear that so many other factors contribute to the conflicts and most of the factors in available literature are not new.

Thus, regardless of whether the conflict was caused by climate change, southward movement of the herders, and competition over scarce resources; deterioration of relationship among crop farmers and cattle herders, among others, the problem really is that with increasing conflict, the crop farmers seek to protect their farmland while herdsmen adopt violent mechanisms in equally safeguarding their cattle during grazing (Genyi, 2014). This situation leads to the proliferation of small arms and carrying of illegal weapons during grazing activities by the pastoralists in the name of self-defense against the systemic attack of cattle rustlers during grazing which equally leads to the death of pastoralists and their cattle (Tenuche & Olarewaju, 2009).

In some territories which one religious group is minority, such as Christians in Kaduna state, some citizens claim that the state officers do not have the same attitude towards Muslims and Christian groups as they do not do enough to protect Christian farmers during attacks (Mahr, 2019). Consequently, the situation in Katsina State that has predominantly Muslim population of both crop producers and pastoralists need some sort of scholarly explanations regarding the

nature, dimension and management of the conflict. Responses by federal and state governments in curbing conflicts between crop producers and pastoralists in Nigeria include deployment of security agencies which has been a dominant feature of the federal Government's response to the crisis. In fact, it has been reported (Kwaja and Ademola-Adelehin, 2018) that the deployment of security agencies by the federal government to tame the challenges of farmer-herder clashes in Nigeria has often had the unintended consequence of breeding local resentment and further increasing the divides as many communities perceive the security agencies to be biased in the discharge of their assigned responsibilities; and this perceived or actual bias risks alienating the communities and people they are meant to protect.

The Federal Government also made efforts at enacting the National Grazing Reserve Bill of 2016, which ultimately was not passed due largely to the fact that the Land use Act of 1978 vests all powers related to the regulation of ownership, alienation, acquisition, administration and management of Nigerian land with the state governors. However, this attempt and others by the National Assembly to legislate on grazing reserves were said to be in violation of the Land use Act of 1978 and perceived as a move to usurp the powers of the governors (Kwaja and Ademola-Adelehin, 2018).

State governments have also enacted laws prohibiting open grazing such as Benue and Taraba states. This among other efforts have been made to see to it that the clashes between crop producers and pastoralists are reduced. Despite so many other efforts made by other groups like the civil society, communities and other non-state actors (as recorded in Kwaja and Ademola-Adelehin, 2018, p.9), Nwakanma and Boroh (2019) argue that the worsening violence between crop producers and pastoralists in Nigeria has remained an issue of concern on the laundry list of the Nigerian State, policy makers, security agencies, international bodies as well as social science scholars.

Role of the State and other Stake-holders in the Management of Farmer-herder Conflict in Katsina State between 2016 and 2021

This section considers analysis of data on the role of the State and other stake-holders in the management of farmer-herder conflict in Katsina state between 2016 and 2021. Specific stake-holders considered in this study, covered in this section, include the Federal Government of Nigeria, Katsina State Government of Nigeria, traditional rulers, religious leaders and Miyetty Allah Cattle Breeders' Organization in Katsina state. Efforts were made to first examine the main roles played by the Federal Government of Nigeria in the management of the conflict in Katsina state. Thus, likert scale of strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagree were employed as indicated on the table that follows:

Table 1: The Roles of Federal Government of Nigeria in the Management of Farmer-herder Conflict in Katsina State

S/N	Roles of Federal Government of Nigeria in the Management of the Conflict	Rating					TWV	RFGI
		1	2	3	4	5		
1.	Deployment of security forces (The Army) to curtail the conflict	101	120	254	486	539	5, 742	3.8
2.	Creation of additional grazing reserves in the area and regulation of the use of arms by pastoralists	601	600	90	104	105	3, 012	2.0
3.	Sinking of Boreholes and additional water supply points across the communities	416	490	371	118	105	3, 506	2.3
4.	Provision of financial support to both Crops farmers' and herders' cooperative societies.	450	375	368	165	142	3, 674	2.5
5.	Funding and sponsorship of joint security forces to check the excesses of Cattle rustlers and Bandits in the State	105	100	290	500	505	5, 700	3.8
ARFGI = $\frac{\sum RFGI}{5}$		ARFGI = $\frac{14.4}{5} = 2.9$						

Source: Field Survey, 2022

As shown on table 1, the Average Roles of Federal Government Index (ARFGI = 2.9) and the opinions of the respondents on the main roles played by the Federal Government of Nigeria in the management of the conflict in Katsina state indicate deployment of security presence (The Army) to curtail the conflict (RFGI = 3.8), funding and sponsorship of joint security forces to check the excesses of cattle rustlers and bandits in the State (RFGI = 3.8).

Table 1 further shows such other roles that were, however, not mainly played by the Federal Government of Nigeria in the management of the conflict in Katsina state and which response indices are below the average roles of Federal Government Index for this study such as creation of additional grazing reserves in Katsina state and regulation of the use or possession of arms by pastoralists in the area (RFGI = 2.0), sinking of Boreholes and additional water supply points across the communities in Katsina state to avoid conflict over water points (RFGI = 2.3), provision of financial support to both crop farmers' and herders' cooperative societies (RFGI = 2.5). Implicitly, the major roles played by the Federal Government of Nigeria in the management of farmer-herder conflict in Katsina state were deployment of security presence (The Army) to curtail the conflict as well as funding and sponsorship of joint security forces to check the

excesses of cattle rustlers and bandits in the State. As found out during the key informants' interviews and focus group discussions for this study:

The major role played by the Federal Government is deployment of security presence (The Army) to curtail the conflict. No serious efforts had been made in creation of additional grazing reserves in the area and regulation of the use of arms by pastoralists. There were no efforts made in sinking of boreholes and additional water supply points across the communities to reduce conflict over water points in our area. Provision of financial support to both crops farmers' and herders' cooperative societies was never an option to the Federal Government of Nigeria to reduce conflict between crop producers and pastoralists in our area. However, efforts were made in funding and sponsorship of joint security forces to check the excesses of cattle rustlers and bandits in the State (Shaapera, 2025).

Table 2: The Roles of Katsina State Government in the Management of farmer-herder Conflict in Katsina State

S/N	Roles of Katsina State Government in the Management of the Conflict	Rating					TWV	RKSI
		1	2	3	4	5		
1.	Establishment of dispute resolution committees across the State to settle conflicts between crop producers and pastoralists in the area	265	243	255	350	387	4, 851	3.2
2.	Ban on transportation of cattle trucks from Katsina State to any State in Nigeria	105	118	116	571	590	5, 923	4.0
3.	Formation of Community Vigilante Forces to check the excesses of cattle herders and crops producers in the State	574	626	79	120	101	3, 048	2.0
4.	Suspension of the sale of all animals (cattle) at some markets in Katsina State.	120	105	261	501	513	5, 682	3.8
5.	Funding and sponsorship of joint security forces to check the excesses of cattle rustlers and bandits in the State	176	94	175	542	513	5, 622	3.8
ARKSI = $\frac{\sum RKSI}{5}$		ARKSI = $\frac{17.2}{5} = 3.4$						

Source: Field Survey, 2022

Table 2 shows the roles of Katsina State Government in the management of the conflict whereby the Average Roles of Katsina State Government Index (ARKSI = 3.4) and the opinions of the respondents on the main roles played by Katsina State Government of Nigeria in the management of the conflict indicate ban on transportation of cattle trucks from Katsina state to any State in Nigeria (RKSI = 4.0), suspension of the sale of all animals (cattle) at some markets

in Katsina state (RKSI = 3.8), all of which reduced the rate of cattle theft and related rustling activities that partly engendered crop farmers-herder conflict in the State; funding and sponsorship of joint security forces to check the excesses of cattle rustlers and bandits in the State (RKSI = 3.8), establishment of dispute resolution committees across the State to settle conflict between crop producers and pastoralists in the area (RKSI = 3.2), formation of Community Vigilante Forces to check the excesses of cattle herders and crop producers in the State (RKSI = 2.0). Participants in the focus group discussions and key informants' interviews for this study expressed that:

Katsina state enabled establishment of dispute resolution committees across the State to settle conflict between crop producers and pastoralists in the area. There was ban on transportation of cattle trucks from Katsina state to any State in Nigeria to curb cattle theft that normally resulted to conflict between crop producers and pastoralists. Formation of Community Vigilante Forces to check the excesses of cattle herders and crops producers in the State; suspension of the sale of all animals (cattle) at some markets in Katsina state; funding and sponsorship of joint security forces to check the excesses of cattle rustlers and bandits in the State (Shaapera, 2025).

Table 3: The Roles of Traditional Rulers in the Management of Farmer-herder Conflict in Katsina State

S/N	Roles of Traditional Rulers in the Management of the Conflict	Rating					TWV	RTRI
		1	2	3	4	5		
1.	Telling the parties to tolerate one another	128	105	86	581	600	5, 920	4.0
2.	Insisting on continuous peaceful coexistence in their communities	120	101	454	386	439	5, 423	3.6
3.	Banning or prohibition of open-grazing by cattle breeders in their territories	175	94	183	543	505	5, 609	3.7
4.	All of the above	140	142	168	550	500	5, 628	3.8
5.	None of the above	562	600	154	101	83	3, 043	2.0
	ARTRI = $\frac{\sum RTRI}{5}$	ARTRI = $\frac{17.1}{5} = 3.4$						

Source: Field Survey, 2022

As shown on table 3, the research equally made efforts to understand the roles of traditional rulers in the management of the conflict in Katsina state. The Average Roles of Traditional Rulers Index (ARTRI = 3.4) and the opinions of the respondents on the roles of traditional rulers in the management of the conflict between crop producers and pastoralists in Katsina state indicate all of (RTRI = 3.8) telling the parties to tolerate one another (RTRI = 4.0), insisting on continuous peaceful coexistence in their communities (RTRI = 3.6) and banning or prohibition of open-grazing by cattle breeders in some of their territories (RTRI = 3.7). This shows that the major roles played by traditional rulers in the management of farmer-herder conflict in Katsina state during the period under study include telling the parties to tolerate one another, insisting on continuous peaceful coexistence in their communities and banning or prohibition of open-

grazing by cattle breeders in some of their territories. Respondents to the oral interviews and focus group discussions for this study observed that:

Roles of traditional rulers in Katsina State in the management of conflict between crop producers and pastoralists in the area include telling the parties to tolerate one another; insisting on continuous peaceful coexistence in their communities; banning or prohibition of open-grazing by cattle breeders in their territories; handling and settling disputes arising from conflict between crop producers and pastoralists in their territories; and punishing offenders or trouble makers via compensation charges to be paid for destruction on farm crops or cattle (Shaapera, 2025).

Table 4: The Roles of Religious Leaders in the Management of Farmer-herder Conflict in Katsina State

S/N	Roles of Religious Leaders in the Management of the Conflict	Rating					TWV	RRLI
		1	2	3	4	5		
1.	Preaching to the parties to tolerate one another	105	128	251	503	513	5, 691	3.8
2.	Preaching for continuous peaceful coexistence in their communities	120	101	230	510	539	5, 747	3.8
3.	Both groups in the State have almost the same religion and respect their religious authorities much	165	143	118	524	550	5 651	.3.8
4.	All of the above	175	94	183	543	505	5, 609	3.7
5.	None of the above	634	578	83	100	105	2, 964	2.0
	ARRLI = $\frac{\sum RRLI}{5}$	ARRLI = $\frac{17.1}{5} = 3.4$						

Source: Field Survey, 2022

Table 4 shows the roles of religious leaders in the management of the conflict in Katsina state. The Average Roles of Religious Leaders Index (ARRLI = 3.4) and the opinions of the respondents on the roles of religious leaders in the management of farmer-herder conflict in Katsina state indicate all of (RRLI = 3.7) preaching to the parties to tolerate one another (RRLI = 3.8), preaching for continuous peaceful coexistence in their communities (RRLI = 3.8) and the fact that both groups (crop producers and pastoralists) in the State have almost the same religion and respect their religious authorities much (RRLI = 3.8) which has tremendous influence in the management of the conflict in the State. Respondents to the oral interviews and participants to the focus group discussions observed that the role of religious leaders in the management of the conflict in Katsina state during the period under study opined that:

Preaching to the parties on how to tolerate one another as well as preaching for continuous peaceful coexistence in their communities; and that both groups in the State have almost the same religion and respect their religious authorities much (Shaapera, 2025).

This implies that the major roles played by religious leaders in the management of farmer-herder conflict in Katsina state during the period under study include preaching to the parties to tolerate one another, preaching for continuous peaceful coexistence in their communities and the fact that both groups (crop producers and pastoralists) in the State have almost the same religion and respect their religious authorities which has much influence on the roles played in the management of the conflict by religious leaders in the area under study.

Table 5: The Roles of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Organization in Katsina State in the Management of Farmer-herder Conflict

S/N	Roles of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Organization in Katsina State in the Management of the Conflict	Rating					TWV	RMAI
		1	2	3	4	5		
1.	Cautioning their members on the need for peaceful co-existence with crops producers in the area	128	105	461	394	412	5, 357	3.6
2.	Settling of disputes between aggrieved crops producers and Pastoralists	120	101	454	386	439	5, 423	3.6
3.	Compensation grants to crop producers whose farms are encroached or destroyed by pastoralists	418	405	316	171	190	3, 810	2.5
4.	All of the above	465	442	268	150	175	3, 478	2.3
5.	None of the above	476	494	282	143	105	3, 407	2.3
	ARMAI = $\frac{\sum RMAI}{5}$	ARMAI = $\frac{14.3}{5} = 2.9$						

Source: Field Survey, 2022

As shown on table 5, efforts were also made to ascertain the main roles played by Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Organization in Katsina state in the management of famer-herder conflict in the State. The Likert Scale of strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagree were employed with the weight value of 5,4,3,2, and 1 assigned accordingly. The Average Role of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders' Organization Index (ARMAI) is found to be 2.9 while the opinions of the respondents on the main roles played by Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Organization in Katsina state in the management of the conflict indicate cautioning their members on the need for peaceful co-existence with crop producers in the area (RMAI = 3.6) and settling of disputes between aggrieved crop producers and pastoralists in the area (RMAI = 3.6). As observed by respondents to the oral interviews and participants to the focus group discussions for this study:

Roles of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Organization in Katsina State in the management of conflict between crop producers and pastoralists in the area include cautioning their members on the need for peaceful co-existence with crop producers in

the area; settling of disputes between aggrieved crop producers and pastoralists in the area; compensation grants to crop producers whose farms are encroached or destroyed by pastoralists; and partaking in peace building committees by Katsina State Government to resolve conflict between crop producers and pastoralists in the area (Shaapera, 2025).

Never the less, as Genyi (2019) observes, the capacity of the State in Nigeria to resolve the conflicts between crop farmers and cattle herders has actually been unclear due to the damaging impact of the conflicts on the citizenry across the country.

Conclusion

The State is expected to function, among other things, to maintain cohesion among the groups by ensuring the safety, security and well fare of all, and at the same time maintain its domination to manage the mode of production to reinforce class consciousness and struggles. However, in Nigeria, the post-colonial State enjoys not merely the relative autonomy that the State under developed capitalism has, but rather, has a distinct relative autonomy by virtue of its direct and obvious role in the economy, security and production, and that the State is able to dispense with the usual mediatory role of policies expected to provide for peace, security of lives and property. The State in the under-developed social formation (Nigeria inclusive) is invariably characterized by weak and dependent economy as well as other features unique to its insecurity and under-developed institutions. In this regard, the State is largely dominated by the petty bourgeoisie and these characteristics have apparently given the State the mistaken and misleading identity of being 'independent' and 'autonomous' in managing farmer herder conflicts in the country. Never the less, by virtue of its economic role, the State is sometimes allowed some measure of relative autonomy to perform its basic role in the economy by deploying its security to secure the lives of its citizens. The meaning, therefore, is that the State sometimes enjoys some measure of relative autonomy or independent operations to manage conflicting situations for enhanced peace and development.

Recommendations

The State in Nigeria needs to live up to expectations to enjoy some measure of relative autonomy or independent operations to manage farmer-herder conflicts in the country for enhanced peace and development

- (i) State's prohibition of the use or possession of arms by cattle herders will go a long way in managing farmer/herder conflicts in Nigeria at large.
- (ii) Formation of Community Vigilante Forces to check the excesses of pastoralists and crop producers in the States affected by the conflict is hereby recommended. This should be complimented by establishment of dispute resolution committees across the States to settle conflicts between crop producers and pastoralists in the areas.
- (iii) There should be provision of financial support to both crop producers' and pastoralists' cooperative societies by both States and Federal Governments in Nigeria to curtail or manage the prevailing conflicts between crop producers and pastoralists across the country.
- (iv) Sinking of boreholes and additional water supply points across the communities in parts of Nigeria affected by farmer/herder conflicts to avoid or manage existing conflicts over water supply points is hereby recommended.

- (v) Miyetty Allah Cattle Breeders Organization and other stakeholders in parts of Nigeria affected by related conflicts should be encouraged by the Nigerian State to readily play roles in the management of farmer/herder conflicts rather than aggravate the conflicts.
- (vi) Cattle herders need not to move about before feeding their herds (sedentarization of cattle herds) to avoid constant clashes with sedentary crop producers across communities in Nigeria. Thus, establishment of cattle ranches is highly recommendable.

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