



Insecurity and Sustainable Development in Nigeria (in Context of Terrorism)

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Authors' contributions

This work was carried out in collaboration between both authors. Author JNO designed the study, wrote the protocol and first draft of the manuscript. Author DKS managed the analyses of the study and managed the literature searches. Both authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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ABSTRACT

Insecurity is a major and great threat to the national development of the country. The rising movement of insecurity has not come to a standstill but has assumed dangerous dimensions which are threatening the corporate existence of the country as one geographical entity. This paper examines insecurity and its implications on sustainable development with special focus on terrorism massacre in Nigeria. Terrorist attack has become a major threat to national security and sustainable development of Nigeria because the increased operation has caused pain, havoc, and agony in the lives of Nigerians and the economy. This paper also examines critically the various efforts by the government to put a stop to this menace. The study adopts descriptive research design which its data are drawn mainly from secondary sources and as such, the study adopted content analysis of issues. The study recommended restructuring of the economy which will lead to greater development, security and less corruption. Efforts should be

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made to create cattle ranches and provide better security against rustling. Nigerian states should also put in place good governance which will be able to respond proactively to the problem of killings in the country instead of reactive response.

Keywords: Insecurity; governance; Fulani herdsmen; sustainable development; Nigeria.

1. INTRODUCTION

A few years ago, Nigerians were anxiously concerned about how the Federal government can put a stop on corrosive corruption, low standard of education, poor agricultural policies and power failure, but the recurring spate of miserable killings in different parts of the country especially the Northern parts of Nigeria diverted the minds of Nigerians to make the federal government concentrate on tackling security threats in the country, Odidi [1]. These days, hardly a day, week or month passes without news about one crisis or another being carried as a headline in any of the daily newspapers with soul-sapping violent clashes resulting in enormous loss of lives and properties. This has so eaten into the fabrics of our nationhood that it is felt within the country and internationally.

Insecurity in the country is seen in armed robbery, ethnic/and communal clashes, religious riots, kidnapping and turbulence, leaving many dead and others maimed and homeless as the order of the day, Dantala, [2]. The level of insecurity in Nigeria is so alarming that it has affected virtually all categories of people in all nooks and crannies of the country. It has permeated all aspects of our national life. Shettima, [3] observes that the level of insecurity in Nigeria can be seen in the following ways: indiscriminate destruction of lives and properties, the dislocation of the local economy with serious implications for the living conditions of the inhabitants. This has brought a lot of stress on existing facilities, created a climate of fear among children and parents. This has also resulted in psychological trauma and stress on victims and survivors of the crisis, especially children, women and young adults. These show that Nigeria is steadily sliding into a state of lawlessness and adversities. Institutions of government that should be responding promptly to the needs of the citizenry are showing nonchalant attitude towards their responsibilities. Most Nigerians live in fear of the unknown as killing has become the order of the day, Ani [4].

The Fulani militants have continued to cause death and destruction in Nigeria and the

neighboring Central African Republic, Burton [5]. Despite the havoc brought by this group, the Fulani are largely ignored on discussions of world terror, and if mentioned, are overshadowed by Nigeria's second terror group, Boko Haram. This may not be the case for much longer, as Boko Haram begins to fall behind the Fulani's in terms of casualties, having been responsible for 330 deaths in early 2016 compared to the Fulani militants' which is 488. As such, it has been predicted that the Fulani might well surpass Boko Haram as Nigeria's most dangerous group within the year, Burton [5]. Before now, the herdsmen have been known to wreak havoc in certain communities in Nigeria, but now, the rate at which they commit these crimes has increased exponentially. Barely five days to the end of Gabriel Suswam's administration (Benue state Governor) in May 2015, over 100 farmers and their family members were reportedly massacred in villages and refugee camps located in the Ukura, Gafa and Tse-Gusa local government area. In July 2015, suspected herdsmen attacked Adeke, a community on the outskirts of the Benue state capital, Makurdi. Last December, six persons were killed at Idele village in the Oju local government area. A reprisal attack by youths in the community saw three Fulani herdsmen killed and beheaded. In February 2016, as a result of a clash between herdsmen and farmers in Benue State, 40 more people were killed, about 2,000 people displaced and not less than 100 were seriously maimed. In 2017, more than 92 Nigerians were massacred by suspected Fulani Herdsmen in Benue and Niger states. Recently, there have been reported attacks by the Fulani Herdsmen in southern states of the country, including Enugu, Ekiti, and Ondo states, Nwachukwu [6]. [see Table 1].

In Nigeria, states in middle belt have been under attack by suspected Fulani herdsmen in a new wave of violence which primarily stems from disputes over grazing areas for cattle. Attacks in villages in Benue state since January 2018 have left 73 people dead, communities razed and buildings destroyed. The Nigerian state emergency agency says 40,000 people have been displaced by the attacks. The human rights group amnesty international reported that in the

sober event, the 73 victims of the killings were laid to rest in a mass burial sponsored by the Benue state government in which he stated that the violence has reached a boiling point of anarchy ,Nwachukwu [6] [See Table 5.1].

The presence of insecurity in any environment constitutes threat to lives and properties, hinders business activities, and discourages local and foreign investors, all of which stifles and retards socio-economic development of a country. Without an enabling environment, production, industrial activities and trade will come to a halt and there will be no investment. As a result of this, development would forever remain elusive. This is because funds meant for developmental purposes are channeled into handling of security problems and also individuals from other countries will not like to have a stake in the country. This paper focuses on insecurity and sustainable development in Nigeria with a special focus on Fulani-herdsmen massacre, The study contributes to the existing knowledge by examining critically the efforts by the government.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Frustration-aggression model. This theory was developed by John Dollard [7] and his associates but was expanded and modified by Berkowitz [8], drawing mainly from the psychological basis of motivation and behavior. The theoretical framework provides explanation for violent behavioral disposition resulting from the inability of people to fulfill their human needs. It is based on the general premise that all humans have basic needs which they seek to fulfill and that any blockade to the fulfillment of these needs by individuals or groups elicit violent responses.

Frustration-aggression theory emphasizes the difference between what people feel they want and the discrepancy. However, a bare minimum between what is sought and what they get, the greater the violent reaction. In the face of these frustrated expectations, a group is most vulnerable to embark on violent destructive behavior or be a ready army to be used to cause crisis. Central to this explanation is that aggression is the natural outcome of frustration. In a situation where the legitimate desires of an individual or group is denied either directly or indirectly, consequence of the way a society is structured, the feeling of frustration can compel such persons or group to express their anger

through violence that is directed at those perceived to be responsible for their misfortune or others who are indirectly related to those frustrating their expectations

3. CONCEPTUAL LITERATURE

3.1 Insecurity

The concept of insecurity implies different meanings such as absence of safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty, and lack of protection. Beland [9], defines insecurity as the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection. It refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger. Achumba et al. [10] define insecurity from two perspectives. Firstly, he viewed insecurity as the state of being open or subject to danger or threat, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly, insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. These definitions of insecurity underscore a major point that those affected by insecurity are not only uncertain or unaware of what would happen but they are also vulnerable to the threats and dangers when they occur. It is a breach of peace and security, whether religious, social, civil, economic and political that contributes to recurring conflicts and leads to wanton destruction of lives and property. Those affected are not able to stop the attack or protect themselves when it happens. Insecurity refers to a condition that exists due to lack of effective measures put in place to protect individuals, information and property against hostile persons, influences and actions. Insecurity is simply a situation in which individuals in a given society cannot go about their daily activities as a result of threat and harmful disruption of their lives and property. In this context, insecurity is defined as inability to face defensive action against forces that portend harm or danger to an individual or group. This is a typical scenario in Nigeria.

3.2 Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is a two-way relationship between development and environment. It is a multidimensional concept that is conceptualized in many ways.

Sustainable development is maintaining a delicate balance between the human need to improve lifestyles and feeling of well-being on

one hand, and preserving natural resources and ecosystems, on which we and future generations depend. Sustainable development implies economic growth together with the protection of environmental quality, each reinforcing the other. The essence of this form of development is a stable relationship between human activities and the natural world, which does not diminish the prospects for future generations to enjoy a quality of life at least as good as our own Mintzer [11]. Ashford and Hall, [12], referred sustainable development as achieving economic and social development in ways that do not exhaust a country's natural resources.

However, the best known and widely used is consensually stressed by the Brundtland Commission [13], which defined sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

4. THE HISTORY OF FULANI-HERDSMEN IN NIGERIA

The Fulani herdsmen, also known as Fulani pastoralist are nomadic or semi-nomadic Fulani whose primary occupation is raising livestock, Iro [14]. They speak the Fula language. They herd cattle, goats, and sheep across the vast dry grasslands of various environment, which makes them the world's largest pastoral nomadic group. In Nigeria, the livestock supplied by the herdsmen provide bulk of the beef consumption in the country. Fulani herdsmen engage in both random and planned transhumance movements. Random movements are usually taken by the pure nomadic Fulani herdsmen while planned movements are taken by the semi-nomadic pastoralist. The Fulani herdsmen are largely located in the Sahel parts of West Africa but due to changes in climate patterns many herdsmen have moved further south into the savannah and tropical forest belt of West Africa. The herdsmen are found in countries such as Nigeria, Niger, Senegal, Guinea, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Benin, Cote d'Ivoire and Cameroon. The main Fulani sub-groups in Nigeria are Fulbe Adamawa, Fulbe Mbororo, Fulbe Sokoto, Fulbe Gombe, and the Fulbe Borgu ,Iro, [14].

Fulani herdsmen build domed houses called "Suudu hudo" or "Bukkaru" made from grasses. During the dry season, it is often supported with compact millet stalk pillars, and by reed mats

held together and tied against wood poles. The advantage of the "Bukkaru" house is that it is mobile, easy to set up and dismantle as a typical house in nomadic societies. When it is time to relocate, the houses are dismantled and loaded on camel, horses, donkeys and sometimes cattle for transport. In recent time, several herdsmen now live in mud or concrete block houses, Okello [15].

Fulani pastoralists started migrating into Northern Nigeria from the Senegambia region around the fourteenth century, Tonah [16]. After the Uthman Dan Fodio jihad, the Fulani became integrated into the Hausa culture of Northern Nigeria. Thereafter, during the dry season when tsetse fly population was reduced, Fulani pastoralists began to drive their cattle into the middle belt zone which was dominated by non -Hausa. However, while managing the herd and driving cattle, cattle grazing on farmlands sometimes occur and eventually leads to destruction of crops and conflict.

Nigeria's implementation of the land use act of 1978 allowed the state or federal government the right to assign and lease land and also gave indigenes the right to apply and be given a certificate of occupancy to claim ownership of their ancestral lands. This placed the pastoral Fulani in a difficult position because most of them did not apply for lands of occupancy for their grazing routes and recurring transhumance movement will lead to encroachment of the properties of others.

Today, Fulanis residing in Nigeria constitute the fourth-largest ethnic group nationally, with a population of over seven million. About 13 million Fulanis reside outside Nigeria, mostly in surrounding countries like Niger, Mali, and Guinea. In Nigeria, the large majority of Fulanis have long requested for land from the government for the dedicated purpose of grazing although the Nigerian government is yet to grant their request. Although the Fulanis in Nigeria have long competed with other Hausa communities in Nigeria for land, and they have not achieved any good result except conflicts which have increased since the 1999 democratization of Nigeria, Eyekpimi [17].

5. THE INCIDENTS OF FULANI - HERDSMEN ATTACK IN NIGERIA

Over the last seven years, there have been incidents in various states. The majority of these incidents have been in Benue, Nasarawa,

Plateau, Enugu, Delta, Rivers, Zamfara and Taraba States. But it is important to look at the data on the attacks to get a sense of the difference between recent attacks and what has historically occurred.

The one-year period between 2011 and 2012 of the conflict was escalating alarmingly. There were 313 killings, with the epicenter of the pastoral conflict in the Middle-Belt. Plateau State in the Middle-Belt, recorded the highest casualty count during this period. Between 2015 to 2018, number of deaths increased to 360. However, during this period, the attacks spread to all three geopolitical zones in Southern Nigeria- Delta, Oyo and Enugu States were the hardest hit. Members of the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association, an organization that purports to represent the interests of cattle farmers and nomadic herdsmen, often claimed responsibility for the attacks. Despite this acknowledgement, not one member of the group has to the best of my knowledge been interrogated by the state security forces following such claims. [See Appendix Table 5.1].

6. IMPLICATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Recently, Nigeria has witnessed an unprecedented level of insecurity. This has threatened national security and has prompted huge allocation of the national budget to security, Achumba et al, [10]. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria specifically states that "The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of a government". Unfortunately, the government on this constitutional responsibility has failed to provide a secured and safe environment for lives, properties, conduct of business and economic activities.

The alarming level of insecurity in Nigeria has increased the crime rate and terrorist attacks in different parts of the country, leaving unpalatable consequences for the nation's economy and business growth. In 2017, the world leaders proposed a 17-goal agenda known as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The goal has 69 components aimed at ending poverty (Goal 1), protecting the planet (Goal 15), Hunger free(Goal2), peace and strong institutions(Goal 16) as well as ensuring prosperity for all(Goal 10). The United Nations (UN) described these goals as those that will "transform our world" within the next 15 years, which will lapse in 2030.

The policy is a continuation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Some countries like Nigeria, could not attain this goal (MDGs) because of problem of insecurity. No meaningful development policy can be achieved without a peaceful political, social and economic environment. The current ethnic, social, political and economic security challenges in the country pose great threat to the achievement of the SDGs, Ukwai and Bassey [18].

Fulani herdsmen attack poses a serious obstacle to a successful national economy. It has become a major threat to the national security and development of Nigeria because the increased operation has caused a diversion and took away governments' attention on some key areas of the economy. Government spends huge amount of human and material resources in order to curb the menace. Fulani herdsmen attacks no doubt have a negative impact on the lives, properties, food security, social and educational development in Nigeria. These have serious consequences for sustainable development in the regions of attack in particular and Nigeria at large. For instance, in the regions where the attack is pervasive and properties destroyed, It will definitely drag back the economic fortune. Economic life in those regions is automatically grounded. People will no longer be free to go about their economic and social activities for fear of being killed. When all these activities are deteriorating, the murderous and vicious onslaughts on individuals and institutions provide highly unfavorable business environment for internal and foreign investment which is a major factor in the achievement of sustainable development. All these investments contributes significantly in boosting the Gross Domestic Product of any country. Apart from the significant contributions to the economy at the national level, foreign investors create livelihood opportunities through the provision of job opportunities and the provision of large scale products and services in the host country. Nigeria can no longer avail itself of this opportunity due to unfavorable business environment as a result of insecurity created by the violent activities of herdsmen. With the enormous resources at its disposal, leadership in Nigeria is confronted with the task of focusing its expenditure priorities on security in disfavor of viable human capital development, growth and productivity promoting sectors. This no doubt, poses a serious challenge to a dynamic framework for the provision of job and the elimination of poverty, which of course

constitutes the hallmark of sustainable development. The implication of this scenario for sustainable development is that more people are trapped into the vortex of interlocking vicious circle of poverty. This constitutes a dismal performance of the economy with devastating implication for sustainable development in Nigeria.

Insecurity affects sustainable development negatively in the arena of tourism. Tourism is a viable sector with sufficient economic, socio-cultural benefits. However, for a country to reap these benefits, it must be free of security threats. However, they have made a negligible contribution to sustainable development due to the security challenges perpetuated by the incessant killing by the herdsmen.

7. EFFORTS BY THE GOVERNMENT

Conflict and crisis in Nigeria like in other parts of the world have created a rift in human relations, caused serious threats to food security, etc., Olabanji and Ese, [19]. Crisis is inevitable as long as we live together especially in a multi-ethnic, cultural and religious community like Nigeria. Nigerian government has been putting in efforts to halt this massacre. For instance, in 1978, Nigeria implemented the land use act which gave state or federal government the right to assign and lease land and also gave indigenes the right to apply and be given a certificate of occupancy to claim ownership of their ancestral lands. This placed the pastoral Fulani in a difficult position because they did not apply for land for their grazing routes and recurring movement will lead to encroachment of the properties of others.

In order to ameliorate the incidence of crisis, the federal government has embarked on the criminalization of terrorism by passing the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2011 which provides for measures for prevention, prohibition and combating of acts of terrorism, Ewetan, [20]. This insecurity has also compelled the Nigerian government in recent time to request for foreign assistance from countries such as USA, Israel, and EU countries to combat the rising waves of terrorism and insecurity, Ewetan and Urhie [21].

During the reign of Dr Ebele Jonathan as the president of Nigeria (2010-2015), he observed that the capacity of the Nigerian police would be challenged by the sophistication of arms available to herdsmen and so after he was elected President, he summoned a national

security council meeting and ordered that Fulani-herdsmen attack must be decisively dealt with. In July, 2012, the herdsmen continued their killing in Plateau state, the president ordered the army and air force to go to the affected communities and fish out the perpetrators' and bring them to book. This operation flushed out the armed herdsmen, Omokri, [22].

Attempts at curbing these incursions and the consequent clashes include the anti-open grazing law passed by the Benue state house of assembly in November 2017. This law stipulates that cattle grazing should be carried out only in ranches established for such purposes. This bill will provide for the establishment of national grazing reserve commission which shall have power to establish at least one cattle reserve in each state of the federation. The researcher is of the view that the proposed bill to create grazing zones across the country is ill-advised, against the land act use and overriding public interest.

Recently, the federal government has planned to establish cattle colonies across the country in its quest for the lasting solution to the incessant clashes between herdsmen and innocent citizens of Nigeria. In this, 16 states indicated interest and offered up to 5 hectares of land.

Government action has not been forthcoming against the Fulani militants, and bills intended to resolve issues in the middle belt have been highly contested in the Nigerian legislature. Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari has been accused of giving the Fulani preferential treatment due to his own Fula heritage, and legislation proposed by his party has been met with suspicion and outrage, Ani [4]. Though the seemingly-feeble government response to a recent surge in Fulani attacks is disheartening to many of its constituents, it is somewhat understandable due to the host of threats with which Nigeria is dealing with.

Huge amount of money is spent on the compensation of families who have lost their loved ones to Fulani herdsmen and acquisition of weapons, ammunitions in order to equip the military to handle the situation on ground and this affects Nigerians' economy. Any state that any group kills to advance their agenda is a terror group and failure to address them is a disservice to the Nigerian people. Finally, the government has not shown any willingness to checkmate the murderous monsters who has been killing

innocent citizens and it is a betrayal of the confidence reposed in the government by Nigerians who voted them into power.

8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The presence of insecurity in any environment constitutes threat to lives and properties, hinders business activities, and discourages local and foreign investors. All of these stifle and retards socio-economic development of a country. The present-day conflict in Nigeria between the Fulani herdsmen and their neighbors will not easily be resolved. Pre-existing communal conflicts has stimulated violence as herdsmen turn militant in the face of urbanization, desertification, and the indifference of the Nigerian government to a plight. Fulani violence has taken more lives in the past six months than Boko Haram. Nigeria is the most prominent terrorist organization, and it shows no signs of slowing in its deadly pace. Therefore, the following recommendations are made:

The insecurity issue between the fulani herdsmen and farmers was as a result of land use act(encroachment) which led to violence and break down of peace and order, therefore, the state government should establish grazing routes and reserves across the country and ensure that those involved in the allocation of land for farming should imbibe responsibility and not allocate along cattle route to avoid encroachment by nomadic herdsmen which is the main reason for this conflict. Again the state government should designate some areas as grazing fields for the nomadic herdsmen and provide a law on banishing of culprits from the state.

The future of this country is at stake if nothing is done to bring the life threatening situation in the country under control, it will give room to anarchy. Therefore, the existence of good governance will help to de-escalate the activities of herdsmen. The government should try as much as possible to consider restructuring the economy which will lead to greater security, greater development and less corruption. Efforts should also be made to create cattle ranches and provide better security against rustling in the country.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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Appendix

Table 1. shows various attacks by Fulani- herdsmen in Nigeria from 2002 to 2018

S/n	Date	Incidence	State	Injury	Death
1	Jan,2002	Conflict between farmers and herdsmen over grazing land	Plateau	None	30
2	Feb,2003	Clash between Fulani and the Yungar ethnic group	Adamawa	None	100
3	May,2003	Attacking and burning of 34 villages	Adamawa and Gombe	500	63
4	Feb,2004	Nomads attack farmers	Yelwa, Plateau	None	49
5	Feb,2005	Fulani-herdsmen from Chad and Niger attacked farmers	Adamawa		12
6	Dec.2009	Clash between herdsmen and farmers	Nasarawa and Borno	700	32
7	March,2010	Herdsmen invaded 3 villages	Plateau		30
8	Nov,2011	Clash in kirikassama Local Government	Borno and Benue	17	53
9	March,2012	Herdsmen clash with farmers in Giwa	Benue	None	30
10	March 2012	Clash between Tiv farmers and herdsmen	Nasarawa	None	16
11	April,2012	Fulani herdsmen clash	Sokoto	50	1
12	May,2012	Clash between farmers in Gwer west	Benue	None	5
13	June 2012	Fierce battle between herdsmen and farmers	Adamawa	None	6
14	July,2012	Killing during a funeral of people killed by herdsmen	Plateau	None	200
15	Dec,2012	Clash between Gbagyi farmers and Fulani nomads	Plateau	5	2
16	March,2015	Herdsmen cutting farmers hands and raping siblings	Oyo	30	None
17	May,2015	Herdsmen killed farmers in camp	Benue	None	100
18	April 12,2016	Attack in 2 villages in Gashaka by herdsmen	Taraba	None	15
19	April 19th,2016	Protest against Fulani herdsmen	Delta	None	23
20	April 21st,2016	Farmers in Lagun was attacked by Fulani herdsmen in Lagun	Oyo	1	None
21	April 25th,2016	Attacked Ukpabi Nimo in Uzo Uwani	Enugu	None	40
22	June 16th,2016	A man shot by Fulani herdsmen at Ossissa	Delta	None	1
23	June 20th,2016	Herdsmen attack on Benue communities	Benue	None	57
24	Jan 1,2018	Militant herdsmen killing	Benue	None	73

S/n	Date	Incidence	State	Injury	Death
		in 6 communities			
25	Jan,3rd,2018	Attack by herdsmen	Benue	30	50
26	Jan 9th,2018	Attack by herdsmen	Benue	None	20
27	Jan,14th,2018	Attack by Fulani herdsmen in Birnin Gwari local government	Kaduna	None	10
28	March 30th,2018	Killing of herdsmen by communities	Zamfara	20	18
29	April,6th,2018	Attack by herdsmen	Taraba	None	13

Source: Report from Agbedo [23] and Nigerian newspapers (2017/2018)

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